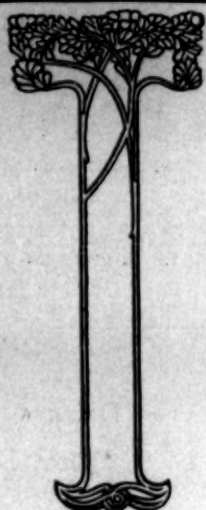


The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
35 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 2
No. 5



FUNDAMENTALS OF THE
SUFFRAGE OPPOSITION

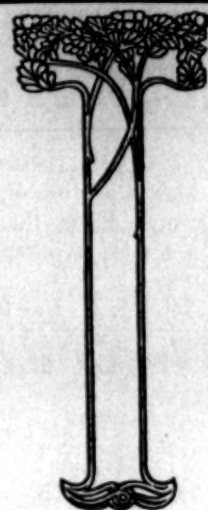
FEMINISM AND THE DUAL
STANDARD

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ACTIVITY
NATION-WIDE

SUFFRAGETTE FABLES

LINCOLN'S STATEMENT

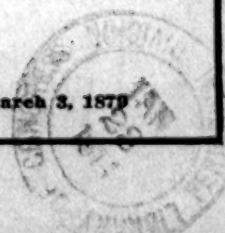
MARCH
1913



Subscription, \$1.00 a Year

Single Copies, 10 cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1912, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., Under the Act of March 3, 1879



National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, New York.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Henry P. Kidder, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. John B. Heron, Pittsburg, Pa.; Miss Anne MacIlvaine, Trenton, N. J.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Eli Whitney, New Haven, Conn.

Treasurer, Mrs. Robert Garrett, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.

General Sec'y, Miss Minnie Bronson.

35 West 39th Street, New York City

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Miss Mary S. Ames, Boston, Mass.
Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, New York.
Mrs. Horace Brock, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale, R. I.
Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, Hartford, Conn.

Mrs. Frank Goodwin, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Herman M. Hubbard, Columbus, O.
Miss Anna Dayton, Trenton, N. J.
Miss Jane U. Rutherford, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. A. T. Dudley, Exeter, N. H.
Mrs. Brookes Brown, Burlington, Vt.

State Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage

CONNECTICUT.

Office: 209 Pearl St., Hartford.

President, Mrs. Daniel A. Markham.

Vice-Presidents, Miss Elizabeth Burnell, Mrs. Charles C. Beach, Miss Martha J. Wilkinson.

Treasurer, Mrs. Albert S. Cook.

Secretary, Mrs. Walter S. Schulz, Hartford.

ILLINOIS.

President, Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. R. J. Oglesby, Mrs. James M. Walker, Mrs. T. B. Blackstone.

Treasurer, Miss J. C. Fairfield.

Dearborn Avenue, Chicago.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. George W. Kretzinger.

IOWA COMMITTEE.

President, Mrs. Martin Flynn.

Secretary, Mrs. Simon Casady, 715 Prospect Road, Des Moines.

MARYLAND.

President, Mrs. Robert Garrett.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Francis T. Redwood, Mrs. John Haslup Adams, Mrs. Arthur B. Kinsolving, Miss Catharine M. Selfe.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Katherine P. Davis.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Claude Hall.

Treasurer, Mrs. Charles B. Penrose.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Office: 687 Boylston St., Boston.

President, Miss Mary S. Ames.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. J. Randolph Coolidge, Miss Anna L. Dawes, Mrs. Charles E. Guild, Mrs. Charles D. Homans, Miss Agnes Irwin, Mrs. Henry M. Whitney.

Treasurer, Mrs. James M. Codman.

Recording Secretary, Miss Elizabeth Johnson.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Charles P. Strong, Boston.

MICHIGAN.

President, Mrs. Henry F. Lyster.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. L. E. Clark, Mrs. C. A. Kent, Mrs. Charles W. Casgrain, Miss Stella Ford.

Treasurer, Mrs. James Cosslett Smith.

Secretary, Miss Helen E. Keep, 753 Jefferson Ave., Detroit.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. William S. Jerome.

NEW HAMPSHIRE ASSOCIATION.

President, Mrs. A. T. Dudley, Exeter.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Edson J. Hill, Concord; Mrs. Thomas C. Bethune, Concord; Mrs. Will B. Howe, Concord; Mrs. Barrett Wendell, Portsmouth; Mrs. John R. Spring, Nashua.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Otis G. Hammond, Concord.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Grace Morrill, Concord.

Treasurer, Miss Carry R. Todd.

NEW JERSEY.

President, Miss Anna Dayton.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Grover Cleveland, Princeton; Mrs. Thomas Craven, Salem; Mrs. Alexander F. Jamieson, Lawrenceville; Mrs. C. Ledyard Blair, Bernardsville.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Fanny Dickinson, Trenton.

Recording Secretary, Miss Anne de B. McIlvaine.

Treasurer, Mrs. Charles Minnegorode, 192 West State Street, Trenton.

NEW YORK STATE.

Office: 35 West 39th St., New York.

President, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden.

First Vice-President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.

Vice-Presidents, Miss Eleanor G. Hewitt, Mrs. Fritz Achelis, Mrs. George Douglas Miller, Mrs. William P. Northrup.

Honorary Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Elihu Root, Mrs. Richard Watson Gilder, Mrs. Francis M. Scott.

Secretary, Mrs. M. E. Loomis.

Treasurer, Mrs. Charlton T. Lewis.

OHIO.

President, Mrs. Hermon M. Hubbard.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Joseph Crane, Dayton; Mrs. W. W. Clippinger, Madisonville; Mrs. John M. Gundry, Cleveland; Mrs. Helen M. Lucas, Marietta; Mrs. Frank Ray, Granville; Mrs. H. E. Talbott, Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Office: 261 So. 15th St., Philadelphia.

President, Mrs. Horace Brock.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Frank Samuel, Mrs. William W. Birdsall, Miss Sophy D. Irwin, Mrs. James Large, Mrs. William L. McLean, Miss Mary Newhall.

Treasurer, Miss Elsie Balch.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Brinton Coxe, 1515 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Charles Bingham Penrose.

General Secretary, Miss Laura M. Sloan, Philadelphia.

RHODE ISLAND.

President, Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard.

Vice-Presidents, Miss Louise C. Hoppin, Mrs. Howard O. Sturges, Mrs. Stephen O. Metcalf.

Secretary, Mrs. A. G. Harkness.

Treasurer, Mrs. Elisha H. Howard.

Newport Branch.

Hon. Chairman, Mrs. Joseph Howland.

Chairman, Mrs. Charles Weaver.

Secretary, Mrs. Ernest Howe.

VERMONT.

President, Mrs. Brookes Brown, Burlington.

Vice-President, Mrs. George W. Wales, Burlington.

Secretary, Mrs. M. H. Buckham, Burlington.

Treasurer, Mrs. Clarence Morgan, Burlington.

Executive Committee, Mrs. G. G. Benedict, Mrs. Addison B. Buell, Mrs. Merritt D. Chittenden, Miss Bertha Terrill, Burlington.

VIRGINIA.

President, Miss Jane M. Rutherford.

Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Thomas Cary Johnson, Mrs. Charles Whitlock, Miss Annie Rose Walker, Mrs. Arthur Wilmer.

Secretary, Mrs. Charles M. Ferrell, 1616 Grove Avenue, Richmond.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

President, Mrs. Frank Goodwin.

Honorary Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Elihu Root, Miss Jane Riggs, Miss Mollie Eliot Seawell, Mrs. George Wickersham, Miss Grace Denio Litchfield.

Treasurer, Miss McMullen.

Secretary, Miss C. L. Harrold, 2101 N. St.

WISCONSIN.

Madison Branch.

President, Mrs. Frank W. Hoyt.

Treasurer, Mrs. Joseph W. Hobbins.

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Genevieve Mills, 222 Monona Avenue, Madison.

FUNDAMENTALS OF THE OPPOSITION TO SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN--THEORY AND PRACTICE

By Mrs. Grace D. Goodwin

Author of "Anti-Suffrage—Ten Good Reasons."

MANY people are saying these days, "What's the use of wasting good brains and energy on something that is bound to come," but we Anti-Suffragists know that where there is strong opposition, Suffrage is not bound to come.

I used to be a Suffragist, concerned for the women whom I thought would be benefitted by the extension of this privilege, but after much reading and thought could find no ground to stand on. I could find no prospect of good that would offset the overturning of governmental conditions and the increased expenses inevitable with the doubling of the electorate.

Our friends who favor this movement are earnest and enthusiastic, but many of them young and inexperienced. The great impetus which Woman Suffrage has gained lately has come from the theorizing of the colleges. The majority of the thoughtful, middle-aged women with practical experience are with us in this matter.

The opposition to Woman Suffrage did not spread until the danger grew. Today, we have a National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, formed by associations in sixteen States of the Union and in the District of Columbia. The circulation of the two opposition papers, "The Woman's Protest," published by the National Association, and the "Remonstrance," by the Massachusetts association, and the constantly increasing demand for information and literature from all over the country show the development of this work. Organized opposition held the situation in Ohio and Wisconsin, and it is the States where the women have been too indifferent to organize, that suffrage has carried.

I wish to give the history of what we are trying to do and why. Fifty years ago, when the Anti-Slavery agitation was at its height in this country, the Women's Rights movement was also at its height. Lucretia Mott and Wendell Phillips—women and men of that stamp—were at the head of the very noble movement for Women's Rights, which began at the time of the International Anti-Slavery Conference in London, where women, although sent as dele-

gates, were not allowed to be seated as such. From the strong protest caused by this situation, the Woman's Rights Movement was inaugurated with the Anti-Slavery question as its great, basic issue. In the fifty years that this movement has continued, it has entirely changed its character. Many women are suffragists by inheritance, and because of the nobility of this inheritance, forget the changes in the points aimed at.

Today it is no longer a tremendous single issue upon which women can put the undivided force of their moral nature; it is now essentially a question of party politics, and in the states where the experiment is being tried, we have exhibitions of these party politics in their most virulent

form. We are told that this question of suffrage for women is the great overwhelming desire of the women of this country. The many agitators on the street corners and the parades on all occasions may create this illusion, but if you have talked with women as a whole, I am sure you will find that not many more than the eight per cent claimed by the Suffragists to be actively interested in the suffrage cause are burning with a desire for it. With those States which they have won, nine per cent can be said to be interested. But what is to become of the other 91 or 92 per cent? Are we not to be considered, we who are either thoroughly indifferent to the matter or actively opposed to it, and whose active opposition is growing every day? That is too large a majority to allow to be coerced.

The Anti-Suffragists are making their fight upon facts, relying upon statistics received from the Government, and cannot see the wisdom of taking practical action upon the enthusiastic theorizing of untrained thinkers, many of whom

cannot answer fundamental questions and who contend that there are not two sides to this suffrage question. This question which involves a governmental principle for an entire country! Everything has two sides, and we contend that the side we are trying to present is the safe, sane and sensible side of this entire matter.

The Suffragists declare that they have a right to this

"I used to be a suffragist, but after much reading and thought could find no ground to stand on.

Complete change in the Woman's Rights movement in 50 years.

Anti-suffrage facts versus Suffrage theorizing.

Vice in States where women have voted 19 and 43 years.

Influence of Mormon Church for suffrage, against society and the State.

Why the W. C. T. U. map has woman suffrage States printed in DEAD BLACK.

Is "Home an Outworn Institution?"

The much exploited working women's problem.

Industrial equality, through suffrage, cruelty to women.

Continued on page 5

The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
35 West 39th Street, New York City

President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.....New York
Secretary, Mrs. Eli Whitney.....New Haven, Conn.
Treasurer, Mrs. Robert Garrett....Roland Park, Baltimore

Vol. II. MARCH, 1913 No. 5.

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

MAJORITY RULE.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage will be in evidence during the Inauguration Week in Washington. This step is taken with reluctance, but since those who are organizing the woman suffrage pageant and its attending displays of banners and rhetoric insist that they represent women of this country it is necessary to make some protest against this noisy minority, which by their own confession represent only eight per cent of the women of voting age in the United States.

There is one thing that frightens the suffragists more than the students' threat of mice, and that is the suggestion that the question of woman suffrage be submitted to a vote of the women. They hate the thought of it. They know quite well the great majority of the women of the country are not with them and they do not want the voters to find it out. It is no part of their plan of campaign to give the women a chance to express their will on this question. This is the one subject on which the suffragists consider men competent to decide. "Do you speak for the majority of the women of the State?" was asked a suffragist speaker in an Eastern State. "Oh, no," she replied. "For what proportion do you speak?" "I don't know," was the answer. The suffragists do know that they are attempting to force legislation which is in strong opposition to the wishes of the great majority of those most concerned.

The Anti-Suffragists will not deal in pageants or theories, or hootings or hikes, but they will have opportunities of showing up some facts to offset some of the glittering generalities of the suffrage propaganda; the fundamental fact of all is that the women of the United States of America do not want to have political duties because they believe that these would not help them to fulfil their present obligations, but would complicate their present opportunities for non-partisan public work.

IS THIS A FORWARD MARCH?

Our sympathy goes out to those who are marching on Washington. Their method of approach to the National Capitol is as retrogressive as the method by which they propose to make woman's contribution to the body politic.

In these days of the Congressional Limited, there is no need of a hike to Washington save for advertising purposes, and at best these spectacular marches are distant cousins to the methods of our militant sisters over seas. The morning paper tells us that even the most militant of the "hikers" is downcast by the admission of the English suffragettes that they set fire to Lloyd George's country house. A pretty piece of arson of which Mrs. Pankhurst blithely approves.

The woman who wants to get things done today knows that the ballot plays a small part in good government. Public opinion must stand behind the enactment of laws, and behind the enforcement of laws woman without politi-

cal affiliations, with no political trade to make, is today able to mould that public opinion. Her only limitation being the limitations of her own abilities. The movement for woman suffrage is the most materialistic interpretation of woman's power which a materialistic age has yet put forward. We are sorry for the foot-sore pilgrims. We recognize their zeal, but even in the days of the prophets, there were those who hindered the advance of truth because they had zeal without knowledge. Hippodrome methods furnish what our newspaper friends call "hot stuff," but they do not furnish a promise of the calm judgment and moral force which it is claimed enfranchised women will bring into our political life.

A SLANDER.

At a hearing before the Legislative Committee in Trenton on February 19 the Rev. Anna Shaw asserted that Mrs. Goddard, of Colorado, was paid in the last election by the liquor interests. Isn't the Rev. Anna Shaw going a little far when she makes this unsupported attack upon a woman who has Mrs. Goddard's unquestioned social and civic position?

It happens that Mrs. Francis W. Goddard, then President of the Colonial Dames of Colorado, and one time ardent suffragist, was brave enough in April, 1911, to say over her own signature, what many Colorado women would say if they dared face the storm of personal abuse and slander which suffragists heap upon those who hold an honest difference of opinion from them in regard to the value of the ballot in the hands of women.

Suffragists have challenged the Anti-Suffragists to produce such statements, and when one courageous woman does come out, these same suffragists, by every trick known to men, plus the venom of a scorned woman, attack the witness.

Mrs. Goddard said: "I have voted since 1893. I have been a delegate to the city and State conventions, and a member of the Republican State Committee from my county. I have been a deputy sheriff and a watcher at the polls. For twenty-three years I have been in the midst of the woman suffrage movement in Colorado. For years I believed in woman suffrage and have worked day in and day out for it. I now see my mistake and would abolish it to-morrow if I could.

"No law has been put on the statute book of Colorado for the benefit of women and children that has been put there by women.

"The Child Labor Law went through independently of the woman's vote. The hours of working-women have not been shortened, the wages of school teachers have not been raised; the type of men that got into office has not improved a bit.

"As for the effect of the vote on women personally, I have known scores of women who worked for the Republican party one year, and worked for the Democratic party next year, telling me frankly that 'the Democrats gave us more money.'

"Frankly, the experiment is a failure. It has done Colorado no good; it has done woman no good. The best thing for both would be if to-morrow the ballot for women could be abolished."

It is absurd to charge Mrs. Goddard with being paid by the liquor interests, as it would be to say that these same interests inspired the opposition to woman suffrage of such women as Mrs. Elihu Root, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Mrs. John Hay, Miss Mary S. Ames, Mrs. Horace Brock, Miss Alice H. Chittenden, Mrs. Thomas Preston (Mrs. Cleveland), Miss Ida Tarbell, Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, Mrs. Edward R. Hewitt, Mrs. Herbert Satterlee, Mrs. Jas. M. Codman and thousands of other women active in opposition to woman suffrage.

FUNDAMENTALS OF THE OPPOSITION TO SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

Continued from page 3

thing, but it is the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States that for man it is not a right, but a privilege and a responsibility extended on the fulfillment of certain conditions. It is not fair to speak of woman as if she were in no wise a citizen, when the Constitution of the United States calls women citizens, and takes it for granted that their citizenship consists in doing for the State another kind of work from that which is involved in this responsibility of the ballot which has been conferred upon men. Now, when we are classed so foolishly with idiots and criminals, you will know that there is no basis to it at all, and you can turn to the Constitution and the Charters of other States, where women are called *citizens*. Simply we are not burdened with this particular duty, but we are heavily burdened with our own responsibilities, and any of the men's responsibilities which we assume must be in addition to our own work. It is not substitution; you cannot stop being a woman when you undertake to do the duties of a man. The things which we do cannot be delegated or relegated or neglected; they are bound in our inmost physical, mental and spiritual constitutions, and we must be true to them and can neither evade nor avoid them. Therefore, if it is forced upon us, we have got to do this work in addition to that we are doing already.

Now the question is, are we ready to do all our own work in the world wisely and well, and to assume, too, all these other responsibilities which men are now carrying? It seems arrogance to consider that we have the strength, physical or mental, to double this tremendous load and expect to be able to carry it with unimpaired nervous force and power. It cannot be done.

The development of civilization has brought women to a point where they are doing their own tasks, and men to a place where they are doing theirs, and we consider it retrogression, not progression to go back to the place where we are all, rather incompletely endeavoring to do each other's tasks. We think we are following the real progressive spirit by not attempting to carry all the work of all the world.

The Suffragists say we must be in this because it is a world movement. We have seen the Chinese and the Persian women emerge from their darkness. They are contending for religious freedom, for the right to be educated, and for the things we women have as commonplaces. Like the young sailor who, when given a star to guide his steering, asked the captain after some hours of hesitation to give him another star because he had passed the chosen one long ago. American women have passed that star long ago—the star of religious liberty, of freedom in education. No woman is denied entrance into any one of 400 gainful trades and occupations if she can fill them acceptably. All these have been opened to her by the splendid co-operation of earnest Christian men, who wanted to see women take their proper place in the world and who did not consider that it is her proper place to be out fighting with the men with weapons of men's choosing and fighting in men's way. Now when we have those things and have won them without the ballot, what use is it to say that nothing can be done

without the ballot? You must look at what has been done without the ballot and the tremendous freedom that American women have today is their greatest danger. The modern American woman in our position has not too little freedom, but too much. That is one reason that has sent her on this wild and restless search for the one last unattainable thing which she has not. The Suffragists say that they want to help uplift, but the desire to help and uplift is not concentrated in the ranks of the Suffrage party.

What of the assertion that with the ballot women would abolish vice, the liquor traffic, the social evil. If the contention is correct, we have a right to look for proof in the States where suffrage has been long tried. Think of 43 years in Wyoming and 19 years in Colorado, and the lesser years in other States. So far as the social purity is concerned, could there be any greater menace to this country than Mormonism? The State Department gives the fact that in nine states in this Union the Mormon power grows daily more prominent, and four of those are States where women today have power to cast the ballot! Why don't they exercise some sort of protest against this damnable condition? Because there is a blot on this country where a church overrides the Nation. It is easy to see why that church is heart and soul in favor of woman suffrage.

As to the control of the liquor traffic: Many noble women have given their influence to the suffrage cause because they ardently believed that by the influence of women the liquor traffic would be wiped out of this country. The last map of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has the Woman Suffrage States printed in black. Why? Because it is impossible in these States to get any reformatory or prohibitive liquor legislation through to any great degree.

Having mentioned some of the arguments, I should like to consider some of the dangers. The Federal Constitution, very wisely leaves to the States themselves, the entire question of the franchise. That is a place where State rights is still prominent in the minds of Americans. Every State settles its franchise problem for itself. Here is the rock where we go to pieces if the Suffragists are to have their way in changing the Federal Constitution. A procedure which might be perfectly feasible in a scattered agricultural community like Wyoming, where the women were pioneers as well as the men and where the thing could be handled on a perfectly level basis, would not be feasible in New York or the States in the black belt of the South. Can the same rule hold good for all the States in the Union?

There are two great problems which America, unlike any other nation on the face of the earth, has to consider. The alien immigrant, and the problem of the enfranchised negro. Australia, where they have woman suffrage, and have it successfully, is begging for immigration, while we are trying to make wise laws to hold back this tide from the slums of Southern Europe, which bids fair to over-run American working people. Think of these people who not only have not been trained to any of the standards by which we try to live, that they do not even wish to know them. From these ranks come many of the Socialists who feel that they need no educational qualifications for voters in this country, and who contend that if a man can feel, he has a right to vote, and that we should have no naturalization laws and no restrictions of any kind. There are States in the Union

today where a man may vote if he has declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States without any educational qualification, having been a resident of the district perhaps for six months. When you add to that untrained, untutored and in many cases lawless vote of 83,000 illiterate women, how will the affairs of New York City go?

A Socialist representative in Congress, who is also a Suffragist, announced that "Home is an outworn institution." The Anti-Suffragists are accused of talking of nothing but home and baby—but somebody must talk about them right away. What of the Suffragist teaching that the individual was the only thing to be counted. "Freedom for my soul, all barriers down, exactly as I please," they say. Isn't it the best plan of procedure to do that thing which will be best for us all; best for every woman in this country, from the least to the greatest? Isn't this the note to be sounded now? And wouldn't anything else be to transgress the teachings of two thousand years?

The statement of the Suffragists that it is a dog in the manger attitude that allows women to oppose the granting of the suffrage to women, because no woman need vote if she does not want to, is a violation of one of the basic principles of government, which is that if a man may vote, he must vote

The working woman has been much exploited by the Suffragists. Of the 7,000,000 women in gainful pursuits about 32 per cent are under 25 years of age and 23 per cent marry, which shows the problem of the impermanency of the workers. Does it not seem just that an employer should pay more to a strong, skilled and permanent workman than to an unskilled, delicate and impermanent workman? What we want to do is not to make every woman economically independent; not thrust out into the world all of the women who do not need to work; but rather take out of that work every single woman whom we can get out and keep out and protect her when she is out. It is one of the gravest of industrial, economic complications that women, who are the mothers of the race, have had to go into this fearful fight for bread and butter. We cannot now help this wrong to womanhood, but we can try to protect her interest. Massachusetts, a State controlled very largely by the women, has laws so severe for men and so lenient for women that one almost pities the men. What the Suffragists are asking for women is a cruel thing—industrial equality. We ask that women be set in a privileged class apart, and that they be specially safeguarded. Beyond question, we are physically the weaker of the two, and physically we have the greater burden and responsibility upon us for the work of the future, therefore we must be better protected, and the more enlightened States are coming into line.

Another great danger which is a part of the suffrage movement, because it underlies it all, is the Feminist movement as it is seen in Germany and France today. That Feminist movement began with a great unrest, and perhaps came out of the great unhappiness. Its promoters are throwing aside the marriage bonds and the marriage functions and speaking of love as if it were the simplest of all things, and as if we were going to mate like animals, and God knows what is going to happen to the mothers and children. Where is this leading the young girls? This is not a part of the Suffrage movement, but it is a great underlying basic thing, that has been interwoven with the restlessness and revolt against existing conditions.

Uncle Sam's Poor Constitution

BY JEANNETTE ROBINSON MURPHY.

When Uncle Sam first saw the light,
A child of revolution,
He had, what seemed his natural right,
A *hardy* Constitution.

His fathers came from North and South,
White men of resolution,
They gave to him, with noble birth,
A *vigorous* Constitution.—(March 4, 1789).

He took the list of childish ills—(Whiskey Rebellion,
French Revolution),
With little diminution—(War with Tripoli);
He weathered all, because he had (Treason of Aaron Burr,
Embargo Act),
An *iron* Constitution.

He braved the croup and whooping-cough—(Battle of
Tippecanoe, War, 1812),
And fever, not to mention—(War with Algiers),
The colic, thrash, and other kinds—(Seminole, Mexican and
Kansas Civil Wars),
Of sad, inside dissention—(Mormon Troubles, John
Brown's Raid).

Black measles, in an evil hour—(Agitation over black
slavery),
They nearly snowed him under,
For doctors got him in their power—(Abolitionists),
And tore him nigh asunder. (Civil War.)

These Northern doctors quite ignored—(Carpet-bagger
Legislators),
All Southern colloquution,
And "buted-in," pretending to
Build up his Constitution—(Amendments, Articles XIII,
XIV, XV).

Alas, for him! Alas, for them!
They ne'er made restitution—(Reimbursement for slaves
and property),
He's failing since they undermined—(Politicians of yesterday),
His *splendid* Constitution.

Poor Uncle Sam, too weak to rise,
To fight your dissolution,
And they who'd kill you, cry, "Behold!—(Recent Public-
ists and Political writers),
His *worn out* Constitution."

BY LILIAN BAYARD TAYLOR KILIANI.

Then came the women (dear, sweet things!)
With fervid elocution:
"Give us the vote!" they cried aloud,
"Amend the Constitution!"

"If so, you'll see us quickly cleanse
Political pollution;
We'll help you men do all your jobs,
Improve the Constitution."

But Uncle Sam said, "No, my dears,
You are an institution
More useful in your home by far,
Than if the Constitution
Were changed to make you voters, too!
Your part in evolution:
To teach the children, who as men
Defend the Constitution."

FEMINISM AND THE DUAL STANDARD

By EDWARD S. MARTIN

(From *Life*, Feb. 25th.)

WHAT is a feminist? My twelve-year-old dictionary does not tell. "Feminism: the qualities of females," is the nearest it comes, and that is no help. It is something that has lately broken loose, and we must consult the latest authorities. I find in the February number of *McClure's Magazine* that "the significant and deep-rooted movement to readjust the social position of women, in its largest general aspects is termed feminism; in its immediate political aspects, suffrage." *McClure's* endorses Miss Inez Milholland as a qualified and competent feminist, and Miss Milholland expounds the faith that is in her in a piece in that magazine. So perhaps if we look into the piece we shall get a notion of what the feminists have got on their minds.

Miss Milholland discusses "the liberation of a sex." Women, for the first time in history, she says, are to have something approaching an equal voice in the administration of human affairs. "They are to sit on juries, to administer public offices, to confer in the high councils of the nation," and, "bring directly to the problems of government and of civilization those qualities, in certain respects different from man's, which they have hitherto been permitted to employ only indirectly, in the private influence of the individual woman on the man who has acted for himself and her in the world of government and affairs."

Please do not smile—this is a serious matter. There are a good many women and they have serious minds and opinions, and it is probable that Miss Milholland does not represent all of them. But some of them probably she does represent more or less, and it may be instructive to search out what details of liberation she and they consider desirable.

Forecasting the results which may be expected to attend "this sudden liberation of an entire sex" from "the conditions of bondage and restraint," Miss Milholland finds that the institutions most certain to be touched and changed, are the institutions in which the sex, as a sex, is most peculiarly and vitally interested—the home, and marriage itself." She does not say explicitly in this first article how they are to be changed, but she gives notice that "the old reticences are destroyed forever," and she invites us to study what women are printing and saying "in the light of the underlying body of modern thought from which they are clearly drawing their ideas and their inspiration." So doing, she says, we shall arrive at certain rather obvious conclusions, including, it seems, "an assault on the dual standard of morality, and an assertion of sex rights on the part of woman." To illustrate, she quotes from a current play in which a girl "has slipped away for a week end with the son of her father's employer." The fact is discovered. The boy is persuaded to marry her "to save her honor." She refuses. She does not love him. "But you did love me," he insists. "You must have loved me." She turns and asks, "Did you love me?" "No," he replies, "but I'm a man. It was just my fancy of the moment." "Well," is her answer, "I am a woman. It was just my fancy of the moment."

All right, Miss Milholland, all right. One is no better than the other, and that is recognized in the proposal that they marry. They don't! Very well. But if there is a baby, what becomes of the baby, and what becomes of the girl? The dual standard, which cannot be admired ethically,

is based on the very practical consideration that it is the girl, not the man, who has the baby. The great practical inconvenience of having babies in the world without fathers, and mothers without husbands, has led to the dual standard and to an extreme reprehension of the indiscretions of women. That reprehension is a good deal mollified in these times, not as a consequence of the "liberation of a sex," but because sentiment in these matters has grown kinder and more just, but the dual standard came to be, not for the indulgence of men, but for the protection of girls. You may well enough argue that the girl in "Hindle Wakes" did better not to marry the boy if she did not want him. Perhaps so, if there was no baby. But you cannot argue for a liberation of sex that eliminates the dual standard by bringing the chastity of women down to the level of the chastity of men. That seems to be what you argue for and predict, and that won't wash. It implies conditions that would add to the burdens already incurred in behalf of "unfortunate" women, additional cares for the rescue of "unfortunate" men. Chastity in bachelors and chastity in spinsters have different values, a difference based on the fact that when there is a baby, it is the woman that must bear it. You may argue that the chastity of men must be prodded up to the level of the chastity of women, and in that you will have the support of the moralists, though the urgency of passion is thought to be far less in normal women than in normal men, you will get no support anywhere for social recognition of the kind of "sex rights" that you seem to demand for liberated women. If that is feminism, "in its immediate political aspects, suffrage," verily the fat is in the fire.

And do you mark, Miss Milholland, that the dual standard is almost entirely a matter of social sentiment! The law, or the police power, to be sure, is harder on prostitutes than on their patrons, but that accords with a theory that prostitutes, like gambling housekeepers, are promoters of disorder. Except for women rated as "disorderly" there is no statute law concerning chastity that does not equally apply to men, and for married people the written law is the same for man and wife, and public sentiment sustains it.

And who are the upholders and motioners of the dual standard? Women chiefly, Miss Milholland. It is strangely, vehemently, the feeling of mothers that the exercise of what you call "sex rights" is not a privilege to be desired for daughters, and they discourage it, especially in women, wherever it appears. I don't see how the "readjustment of the social position of women" is going to change the feelings of mothers on this point, or that it will make a difference if women "sit on juries, administer public offices and confer in the high councils of the Nation." The exercise of "sex rights," except the right to get married, does not seem likely to receive either political or social support, but rather to remain, as now, distinctly an individual adventure, as to which the destruction of the old reticences will be earnestly deprecated by the adventurer. The combination of the miscellaneous exercise of "sex rights" with advertisement, is something that very few civilized women have been able to get away with. Some remarkable women have done it, as Cleopatra, Catherine of Russia, George Sand and others—but their success, though interesting, is hardly attractive, and the failures that offset it are to be reckoned in millions.

Continued on next page

Feminism and the Dual Standard

Certain it is, if any fact is certain that the dignity of woman is bound up with that indissoluble wedlock which alone is worthy the name of marriage. What but the *consortium omnis vitæ* makes a wife to differ from a concubine or a courtesan? As certain is it that with the dignity of woman is bound up all that is most precious in modern civilization. Glory and loveliness in art, in literature, in public and private life, will pass away with the passing of marriage.—W. S. Lilly.

Nothing proves more conclusively the necessity of indissoluble marriage than the instability of passion.—Balzac.

The family is a miniature society; and the disintegration of this miniature society cannot but produce the disintegration of the larger society—even as the social disintegration in its turn points, to a disintegration of the family. If the individual be not strongly integrated in the family, neither will he be integrated in society as a whole; if he be not conscious of his duties and responsibilities in the family, he will not be conscious of his duties and responsibilities toward society * * * Hence the supreme importance of maintaining intact the family structure without which the family functions cannot be performed.—Dr. Chatterton-Hill.

Suffragettes Destroy Orchids

By Anna M. Fielding

Woman, unworthy the name, she who brings,
Wanton destruction to innocent things;
Woman, supposedly tender of heart,
Lovers of beauty in Nature and Art.

Regally graceful in clusters they stand
Mute, unresisting the ravaging hand.
Silent-tongued, rainbow-hued, jewel-eyed bloom,
Cravenly, cruelly sent to their doom,

Plunging in forests of tropical heat,
Dangers of fever and reptiles to meet;
Scaling of perilous cliffs, high in air,
Man went to gather these orchids so rare.

Woman with vile and most venomous spite
Trampled rich masses of fragrant delight.
Did no repentance o'er calloused heart steal,
For prostrate blossoms crushed 'neath their rude heel?

Thrillingly beautiful, marvelous, they—
Purity, shaming us creatures of clay.
Rich, living colors with satiny sheen,
Vividly glowing 'gainst foliage green.

Just indignation will stir public taste,
'Gainst these disciples of riot and waste.
Vicious, perverted in heart and in mind,
Casting dishonor on all womankind.

Chinese Women Do Not Vote

Dr. Yamei Kin, lecturing at the Hotel Gotham, New York, in January, on the "Condition of Women in China," said in answer to a question of the franchise:

"Many reports have been circulated that the Chinese women had the franchise. The truth of the case is this: The franchise in China was never meant to be unlimited. Many men have a fair degree of education, but only the man with a high school education and also certain property qualifications was considered. The agitation was most violent in Canton. Some women were elected and did sit in a session of the Assembly. When the higher assemblies came to be formed the women were refused. The newspapers said that when they were refused in Canton, the women were given a hearing. In Canton these agitating women were school girls of 16. People have quietly put the women aside in the first Representative Assembly.

"The great advance in China does not mean that the people have yet exercised their right of voting or that we have even manhood suffrage yet. Whether we have the franchise for women or not, will depend on what education brings the right. Of the majority as yet, scarcely two or even one per cent have the degree of education required by law. It is not said that women may not have the suffrage, all laws read 'one man.' So women can contend for it later, but at present you cannot say that women have the suffrage in China."

When asked if she thought she could have accomplished more with a vote, Dr. Kin answered that she felt that she could do more standing on the testimony of what she had done, and by appealing to her officials, showing all she had accomplished, than by her one vote.

When a Woman Has a Choice

The women who rebel the loudest against what they call the restricted domain of their sex generally base their greatest cause of dissatisfaction upon what they feel to be a sense of injustice. Their chief argument is comparative: that while men have a wide field from which to choose, women, whatever their tastes or abilities, are expected to confine themselves to a life of domesticity.

"Why may not a woman also choose?" is the question of these restless ones.

Always forgotten in such an argument is this fact: that once in her life a married woman has had a chance and a perfect right to choose. When a man asks a woman to marry him, he invites her to a life of domesticity. She should know precisely what this involves; if she does not, her education is sadly at fault. When he is able and willing to provide for them, a man has a right to a good wife, a properly-conducted home and well-trained children. This is a woman's time to choose between a life of love and home and family, and the independent life of a career. If she does not wish to assume the responsibilities of marriage she should say so. But in that case she has no moral right to deprive any man of the joy of home and family. Her independence is hers to keep, if she chooses, and leave the man free to find a woman who will be a wife, a mother and a home-maker. This is what marriage means and ought to mean. No woman is truthful when she complainingly asks, "Why may not a woman also choose?" She may. That is her time to choose.—From *Woman's Magazine*.

TWO FABLES

BY

Mrs. Julia T. Waterman.

THE MAN, THE WOMAN AND THE SUFFRAGETTE

A man and his wife were driving their ass to market when they met a group of Suffragists. "Well," said they, "is that the way you treat a woman. You care more for the ass than for your wife." In compliance with this suggestion the man set his wife on the ass. But soon they met a group of Suffragettes who threw stones at him and violently abused him, saying: "Is not your wife your equal? She ought to share your labor. You are making of her a parasite." So the man stood corrected and to equalize opportunity took her place for awhile. This time they met a Feminist who berated him soundly, saying that seats on horseback should be provided for all women. The good-natured husband, desiring to do all he could took his wife up behind him.

But now he met a Socialist leader who exclaimed with more vehemence than all the rest: "What one seated in front of another! Better that no one should ride than not ride side by side."

The kind-hearted man would have felt inclined to make another change, but he realized by this time that there cannot be a more fruitless attempt than to try to please the unreasonable.

MORAL: A man who tried to give the Suffragists what they want would be kept very busy.

THE WANTON SUFFRAGETTE.

A Suffragette full of play and wantonness, seeing a woman at work in her house could not forbear insulting her. "What a sorry poor drudge art thou," says she, "to sew and scrub all day and to work for a master! But you are a wretched, dull slave, and know no better, or else you would not do it. See what a happy life I lead. I go just where I please, sometimes I visit such people as you for curiosity, and when I please, I go about breaking windows. But you, if you were to perish have nothing of your own!"

The housewife, not at all moved, went quietly on with her work and as her children grew older, she rested in the happy atmosphere of affection and consideration. One day the Suffragette knocked at her door saying: "I have been turned out of office and my party is out of power. My husband is my rival and my children do not know me. I have no friend but you."

"Come in," said the housewife, "and gave her a place by the fire."

But the Suffragette out of mere habit began to reproach the children: "Why do you serve your parents? Have you no lives of your own to lead?"

"Now," said the housewife, "you will have to go. For, though I pity your misfortunes, I will not harbor a mischief-maker in my home." And she gave the Suffragette money and sent her forth.

MORAL: Those who destroy the happiness of others, destroy their own.

The Trees and the Bramble

From Bewick's Select Fables.

The trees grown weary of their state of freedom and equality in which God had placed them, consulted together to choose and appoint a king over them, and they said to the Olive Tree, "Reign thou over us." But the Olive Tree said to them, "Shall I quit my fatness wherewith God and man is honored, to disquiet myself with the cares of government, and to rule over the Trees?"

And they said unto the Fig Tree, "Come thou and rule over us." But the Fig Tree said unto them, "Shall I bid adieu to my sweetness and my pleasant fruit, to take upon me the painful charge of royalty, and to be set over the Trees?"

Then said the Trees unto the Vine, "Come thou and reign over us." But the vine said also unto them, "Shall I leave my wine which honoreth God and cheereth man, to bring upon myself nothing but trouble and anxiety, and to become king of the Trees? We are happy in our present lot, seek some other to reign over you."

Then said all the Trees unto the Bramble, "Come thou and reign over us," and the Bramble said unto them, "I will be your king; come ye all under my shadow and be safe; obey me and I will grant you my protection. But if you obey me not, out of the Bramble shall come forth a fire, which shall devour even the cedars of Lebanon."

MORAL: *The most worthless persons are generally the most presuming.*

"Keep It Out of Politics"

"Those of us who are devoting ourselves to the cause of National Service fully realize that if this vital question were to be dragged into the cockpit of party politics, the reorganization of our military forces would become an almost hopeless task."

This is what Lord Roberts says in regard to his pet scheme for the betterment of the British army. At all costs, he wishes that his reform plan shall not be made a part of party politics. Yet the women of America are clamoring to have such "vital questions" as child labor, pure food and white slavery, dragged into the "cock-pit" because by these means they hope to obtain a vote. Just as men have begun to outgrow a few of their illusions about party politics, and are beginning to realize the great danger of letting social reform depend on them, women have begun to insist that only by this method can anything be done, and indignantly to deny in the face of experience, that anything can be done without them.

We are mothers, wives, and sisters of men, and we know that our interests are bound up with the best interests of men, and that to claim to do their work as well as our own is to injure both.—Mrs. Humphrey Ward.

Nation-Wide Opposition to Suffrage

The proposal to force the ballot upon women against the will of the majority of women has had the natural end.

It has awakened to determined and vigorous action a host of women who resent the imposition of a burden through the hysterical agitation of a minority.

Reports from many branches of the Association opposed to woman suffrage, given below, throw an encouraging light on the real situation in those states where suffrage agitators are at work.

In one state 368 cities, towns and villages have representative women members in the association working in active opposition.

In every state legislators and voters are being made to realize that the great majority of women do NOT want to vote.

CONNECTICUT.

The Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized November 27th, 1911. During the past fifteen months thirteen branches have been formed with a membership of 1,654. Enrollment in Hartford is 2,181, making a total of 3,835. Recently headquarters in a very central locality have been arranged. In the past year several largely attended mass meetings have been held, besides numerous parlor meetings. The branches have all had well attended meetings.

Connecticut has proved the fact that less than 4 per cent. of the women in the state want the ballot, based on a deduction made from the statement of the suffragists as to their enrollment at the annual meeting in November. Connecticut has a total population of 1,114,756, of which 349,349 are women of voting age. The suffragists in their petitions claim that 11,500 women are asking for equal franchise. Therefore, they claim exactly 3 29/100% of the women in their petitions and that after 43 years' campaign for equal rights in Connecticut.

A canvass has been made to learn how many women have been using the privilege of franchise in matters pertaining to education—a privilege they have had for many years. Returns are just coming in from the canvass, and up to date, 89 towns of the 168 towns in the state have been heard from. Returns from these towns show that a total of 5,113 women have registered as against 129,133 men. Figures previously sent to THE PROTEST show that less than 4 per cent. of the women of Connecticut are asking for the ballot. These returns so far show approximately that slightly more than 2 per cent. have ac-

tually used the privilege of the ballot they already have. It is interesting to know in this connection that in 34 towns of the 89 heard from no women at all are registered, while in some of the remaining 55 towns the town clerks have frequently annotated the fact that while a number of women are registered, they have not voted in a number of years. However, these disinterested women are included in the registered number. It will be seen from this that the women are registering on the school question principally in the places where the agitation for equal suffrage is the strongest, and even there the suffragists cannot list their full strength at the ballots.

ILLINOIS

The Illinois State Association was organized in 1896 by a small group of women under the able leadership of Mrs. C. F. Corbin. It has carried on an active campaign of education, not only in that State, but in other States, by means of leaflets which have emphasized the connection between Socialism and Suffrage. The wisdom of this point of view has been shown during the past few years when the Socialists have openly endorsed woman suffrage, and many of the Suffragist leaders have become Socialists.

During the past year this Association has sent out 19,550 leaflets and carried on an extensive correspondence in many States. The need for a larger organization which shall spread throughout the State has been demonstrated, owing to the increasing activities of the Suffragists, especially in Chicago.

MARYLAND.

Our legislature report is interesting in that it showed "A definite setback to suffrage in Maryland." In January,

1912, after the Association was given a hearing, the legislature of Maryland defeated a state-wide suffrage bill by a vote of 72 to 18, as compared with the vote of 1910 on a municipal suffrage bill for Baltimore of 67 to 24, a perceptible increase in legislative opinion against the "cause." A tax-paying suffrage bill for Baltimore City passed the Senate, but was tabled in the House.

Literature has been distributed through the state in cities where there are no organized associations. Several meetings have been held for working girls, and one especially for German-American women, and others to various audiences, with speakers from the Association. Four large public meetings have been held, with such speakers as Chief Justice Brown, Mr. Everett Wheeler, Mr. Waldo Newcomer, Mr. William L. Marbury, Dr. Clement Penrose, Mrs. George, Mrs. Grace Duffield Goodwin, and Misses Mary Ames, Minnie Bronson and Emily Bissell. Two delegates were present at the annual meeting of the National Association on December 10.

The Talbot County Association, with steadily increasing membership, has become affiliated with the Maryland Association and plans to form branch associations in the other counties are on foot. The main difficulty under which we labor is that of finding speakers for meetings, as our members are all active in various philanthropic and civic organizations and cannot give much of their time from these and their home duties. The Antis here, as elsewhere, are peculiarly bound with duties that are lightly set aside by their suffrage sisters—this makes the extension of our work outside the city a problem, but we expect in the near future to have a "field secretary" who will arrange and address meetings and form organizations and branches.

MASSACHUSETTS.

This Association was formed in 1895 by a group of women who had for some time been working quietly against suffrage. The original organization had only a few hundred members, now its membership is 18,007, all women over 21 years of age, and the number is daily increasing.

The Association has 43 branch committees, and is represented by members in 368 cities, towns and villages of the Commonwealth.

During the last year an Association of Men has been formed for work in co-operation with the Women's Association. This was started in Boston, but interest in it is spreading rapidly throughout the State.

Sixty-seven meetings have been held during the year in widely different localities and much interest has been shown, each meeting adding to the list of members. To vary a little the usual program a luncheon, attended by over 500 women, was given at the Hotel Somerset in Boston on February 11.

In 1912 a bill for a constitutional amendment, giving full suffrage to women was introduced in the legislature, was adversely reported by the committees, but debated in the House, and finally defeated by both House and Senate. At the present session a similar bill has been put in, and also one for a so-called "Straw Ballot," calling for votes from both men and women. This bill is strenuously opposed by the suffragists, but if passed will be voted on at the November election.

Of women authorized to vote for school committee in this state but a very small proportion appear at the polling booths, except on the rare occasions when the issue is of a personal or sectarian character. At the recent election in Boston, when a well-known woman was a candidate for school committee, only 11,127 women were registered, and of these but 4,939 voted. As the candidate was elected by a majority of 5,129, it is evident that the same result would have been attained if every woman had stayed at home.

Requests for our literature are very frequent, and our pamphlets are printed and re-printed. They are in demand for personal information, from meetings and debates, and appeals for them come not only from Massachusetts, but from nearly every state in the Union and from Canada.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Anti-Suffrage Association of New Hampshire is not yet a year old. Formed through the union of a few local societies in March, 1912, it found itself almost immediately confronting a well-established and aggressive suffrage machine of large pretensions which was

determined to secure control of the State Constitutional Convention. At the preceding convention, held in 1902, an amendment in favor of equal suffrage was reported favorably, but the amendment was voted down at the polls. This year the Suffragists were confident that they could repeat their previous success. They held many meetings, pestered the individual members of the convention with personal appeals, flooded them with partisan literature, and boasted as the date of the convention drew near that they had 150 votes pledged to their cause. Their petition, pushed (as they themselves declared), with "arduous labor," contained the names of about 7,000 men, women and minors, the result of raking the State from the Massachusetts line to Canada.

Within a month, without organized effort, and working here and there where a leader could be found on short notice, the Antis had gathered between three and four thousand bona fide signatures of women of voting age, who protested against the proposal to force the ballot upon women against the will of the great majority of the sex. In some places the petition was circulated only a few days. In Manchester one thousand names were obtained in a fortnight. "Give us another two weeks," said Mrs. Robbins at the hearing, "and we will get seven thousand names against this measure in Manchester alone!" The petition was presented to the committee of the convention by representatives of the State Anti-Suffrage Association.

This committee of the convention which gave a hearing on the proposed amendment was composed of twenty members, ten supposed to be in favor of suffrage and ten whose views were unknown. The suffragists occupied the first evening in the orthodox fashion, asserting wildly and not sparing personalities. The cause of the Antis was presented on the following evening by eight women from different parts of the state. Though most of these women had had no experience in public discussion, their personal dignity and sincerity, as well as the clear sound sense of their arguments proved a strong antidote to the shrill declamation in which the suffragists had indulged the night before. Mr. Burns Hodgman, of Concord, conducted the hearing, and both Mrs. George and Miss Bronson made brief addresses. The committee reported by a good majority against the measure, and the convention by a vote in the proportion of four to three supported the committee. The victory was the

more significant as many men personally opposed to suffrage voted for the amendment in the convention in order to give the people a chance to register their opinion on the measure.

Having accomplished their task the anti-suffragists, as Cincinnatus to his farm, went back to the personal duties and philanthropic interests which they demanded the right to attend to without interference. While the members of the Association are prepared to fight for their principles when these are attacked, they like neither publicity nor agitation. The officers and committees are keeping close watch on the legislature in session, ready to take up arms again if the emergency comes. It may be safely asserted that a long time will pass before New Hampshire appears in the suffragist papers as "the next state in line." What New Hampshire women have done, women in other states can do if they are equally ready to array the strength of the silent many against the bluster of the few.

NEW JERSEY

The New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized on April 14th, 1912, when officers were elected and a constitution discussed. Meetings have been held from time to time, but with no speakers from outside the State except Mrs. Kingsbury Waterman of Washington. Some quiet canvassing has been done in the shops and mills with very gratifying results. The working-girl who desires to throw in her lot with the suffragists is only the result of inflammatory socialistic speeches according to our experience.

An Organization Committee has been formed with Mrs. Alexander F. Jamieson at the head, and progress is being made rapidly. The Montclair branch was formed before the State Association and is in a vigorous condition, numbering over 300 members. They have had frequent meetings and speakers from other States, and are a source of help to the surrounding towns. South Orange has organized a strong branch. Plainfield is sending in names of members. Newark will organize in a few days, Princeton has a good many members and with Trenton the total number in less than a year is rapidly approaching a thousand. Last year at the hearing for the Suffrage Bill in the Legislature where it was defeated, we had a few adherents scattered through the galleries and Miss Bronson spoke

for the opposition. This year all the speakers were members of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. There was not enough time for them all to speak, but the best one was a working-girl who claimed for herself and all the working-girls she knew disapproval of the ballot in women's hands.

The New Jersey Association is greatly encouraged over the outlook, feeling at last that the great mass of silent women who are opposed are being aroused to the appreciation of the fact that they must take a stand to protect themselves.

NEW YORK.

Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, president of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, says:

The advocates of woman suffrage who cling to this idea, which was prevalent at the time of the French Revolution, and even half a century ago, that the ballot in itself is a panacea for all existing evils and a short cut to the solution of governmental problems, are not progressive, but are in reality behind the times as students of government. Suffrage isn't a remedial agent in government, but is merely a means of keeping the wheels of government in motion. Men who are interested in social reforms—and their number is legion—have found they could not bring about these essential reforms by merely voting on election day, and that is the reason they have organized all kinds of commissions and committees to consider the question of child labor, the care of dependent children and kindred subjects, from an economic and humanitarian point of view in order to educate and stimulate public opinion to a more intelligent and comprehensive understanding of these questions.

The women who are opposed to woman suffrage are in hearty sympathy with all lines of constructive social reform, and they are confident that they can do their work better along these lines because they are outside of politics. As non-partisan citizens, untrammelled by party affiliations or obligations, they can go before any legislative committee or municipal organization and ask for the passage of any measure, and their request will be listened to on the merits of the case, and not because they have any political axe to grind or because they voted with this or that party at the last election.

They realize that public opinion must first create a demand for a law, and afterward enforce it in order to make the law effective. In this task of moulding and stimulating public opinion woman plays a great and important part—never greater than at the present day. She is not excluded from any conference for the discussion of special problems because she hasn't a vote, neither is her influence lessened for that reason as a member of any committee where men and women are working together. In appointive position, as members of educational, philanthropic and reformatory boards, which deal directly with the needs of the unfortunate of both sexes, individual women of judgment and ability who are free from other obligations can render valuable service to the city or state.

Mayor Gaynor has appointed several women as members of the Board of Education, and the borough presidents have also appointed women on most of the local school boards. Women are also members of various state boards and receive such appointments from the Governor. Two women were members of the Massachusetts Commission appointed to consider the question of establishing minimum wage boards in that state. Two women also served on the Connecticut Industrial Commission to investigate the conditions of wage earning women and minors, which has just made its report to the Connecticut General Assembly.

Any one who has closely followed the remedial legislation of the past few years must realize that such organizations as the Consumer's League, Woman's Municipal League and kindred organizations, as well as individual women who are members of these organizations, have been influential in securing such legislation.

The State Charities Aid Association, which was established in 1872, is responsible for much legislation along the lines of social welfare.

Mrs. Harper asks, "What are the anti-suffragists doing these days?" I might reply that they are busy in lines of philanthropic activity, which some of the suffragists have abandoned if we may believe the pledges signed by some of them last year, that they "would give neither money nor service to any other cause until the women of New York have been enfranchised."

MICHIGAN.

This Association was organized on January 9th, 1913. Although in existence only five weeks, there are seven hundred women enrolled as members, mostly from Detroit and Flint. Steps are now being taken to reach other points in the state.

Three large meetings have been held in Detroit, at which Mrs. A. J. George, of Boston, and Miss Minnie Bronson spoke. The largest audience of seven hundred was at the Knights of Columbus Hall on the seventh of February.

The arguments against woman suffrage were presented before a hearing of the legislature in Lansing on February fifth, at which Miss Bronson spoke. Already eight thousand pamphlets have been circulated and a circular letter is being sent to women all over the state.

OHIO

This Association was formed in February, 1912, in consequence of the decision of the Constitutional Convention to submit to the voters of the State, an amendment striking out the word male in the State Constitution.

The Central Committee was formed in Columbus, with strong auxiliaries in Cleveland, Cincinnati and Dayton. Owing to the thorough organization of the Suffragists all over the State, the campaign which followed was in the nature of a heated and sometimes bitter contest, marred by personal attacks on some of the speakers sent to Ohio from the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

In the last few weeks of the campaign, the papers in the large cities opened their columns equally to Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists. The labor unions in some localities refused to endorse suffrage and the large German element was opposed to it. Accusations were made during and after the campaign, that the liquor interests helped the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, an accusation which although denied repeatedly from those in authority in the organization, still continues to be made. The real fact was that an overwhelming number of men who undoubtedly represented the women of the State, did not wish the woman suffrage as was indicated by the majority of 87,455 cast against the amendment.

The State Association is now being reorganized, so as to be ready for any future presentation of the subject to the voters of the State, which the Suffragists announce will be soon.

RHODE ISLAND.

The situation in Rhode Island is not acute, and in general the campaign has been of only an educational and preliminary nature. Members of the Association have been present at all hearings before the legislature, to oppose the suffrage amendments, which have been defeated.

The only two organized branches at present are in Providence and Newport, but this year a preliminary nucleus has been formed in half a dozen towns and villages, so that if need arises, organizations can be quickly formed and the membership very much increased.

VERMONT.

The Vermont Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Woman Suffrage was organized only last October, but by the time the legislature was in session that month nearly seven hundred names were signed on the paper and added to the formal protest against the woman suffrage bill, which had been presented for an early hearing.

There are now over 1,000 members.

The injustice of forcing suffrage upon the women of the state was urged when statistics showed that only 8 per cent. of the women of the country (and probably even less in Vermont) favored it.

At the hearing in Montpelier there were six suffrage speakers the Anti-suffragists had only one—Miss Bronson—but she was most convincing and able, and at the end of the meeting a standing vote testified that those opposed to suffrage were in a very large majority.

Since then the suffragists have introduced a bill for municipal woman suffrage only—but that, too, was defeated in the House by 148 against 67. After a few weeks the suffragists petitioned the House to reconsider its action and made changes in the bill whereby only women owning some property might vote, but this, too, has been defeated by an *overwhelming* majority.

One of the strongest of many reasons for opposing woman suffrage is the conviction that the earnest women who have the time and the ability to work for the public good have been and are, and will be, far better able to accomplish needed reforms, and to better conditions than if they belonged to any political party. The vote would not prove the cure-all for the evils of the world,

as urged by the suffragists, and a comparison of laws today in suffrage and non-suffrage states proves that their imaginary wonders have not been accomplished.

VIRGINIA.

When the legislature assembled in Richmond, in January, 1912, the newspapers announced that a petition would be presented by the Equal Suffrage League, asking for an amendment to the constitution, permitting women to vote.

There was then no organization of women opposed to female suffrage; their number comprised most of the ~~men~~ of Virginia, and they apprehended no danger from the small percentage who desired the ballot. But, at the request of a member of the legislature, a short and dignified protest was prepared and signed by forty representative Richmond women.

Public hearings were given to the Equal Suffrage League by Committees of the Senate and of the House of Delegates. The league put forth its best speakers, whose arguments occupied ~~many~~ hours, and they were heard with respectful attention by the committees, and with great applause by the members of the Equal Suffrage League.

When the two committees adjourned for business the protest against the Equal Suffrage petition was read to committee by its chairman. Both committees reported against the petition.

The measure was brought before the House of Delegates, where it received twelve votes out of one hundred.

Although never brought up in the Senate, it was known that the vote there would have been possibly one out of forty.

The Massachusetts Association, opposed to the further extension of suffrage to women, sent copies of "The Remonstrance" to the capitol, which were placed on the desks of every member of the legislature. For that unsolicited assistance the Virginia Association desires to express its appreciation.

In February, 1912, Miss Molly Elliott Seawell was the guest of relatives in Richmond, and, at the request of many ladies, she gave a short talk on the suffrage question at a private residence. The rooms were crowded with attentive listeners, and many were convinced that it was necessary to form an Anti-Suffrage Association in Virginia.

In March, 1912, this Association was definitely formed, although it was not until late in April that it had a president and regular officers and committees.

Soon after its formation the new Association had the pleasure of hearing two very fine addresses made by Miss Bissell and Miss Bronson. These addresses were received with great applause and enthusiasm by a very large audience of both men and women.

Since that time the Virginia Association has held no public meetings, and it has consistently avoided newspaper debates and controversies, but it has grown rapidly and steadily, and has now on its books the names of hundreds of women from all over the state. Most of its members are very busy women, many earn their own living, many are at the head of large associations and institutions, many give their time to work among the poor and unfortunate. It is difficult for them to find time for more meetings and added work. But they realize that the day has gone by for arguments alone—facts are before us all. Woman suffrage has been in force for years in several western states, yet some non-suffrage states have better laws than any of them. The rosy prophecies of woman suffrage advocates have not come true; the effect of women on politics has been negligible—but the effect of politics on women has been deplorable.

WISCONSIN.

No State Association was formed in Wisconsin during the campaign last summer, but a large committee was organized in Madison which did good and effective work in opposing the Woman Suffrage Amendment which was submitted to the people in November. This was done chiefly through the means of literature and letters sent throughout the State.

It was admitted by the Suffragists that they did not expect to have the amendment carried on account of the opposition among the large German and Scandinavian population. A few meetings were held and public opinion was stimulated through the press of the State, but the result showed that large organization in opposition was not necessary. The majority of over 90,000 against suffrage was a surprise even to those who firmly believed that the amendment would be defeated.

What One Believes

By Ella C. Brehaut

In the nice and varied problems of this complex life of ours,
One is bound to give his fellows of his service and his
powers.

If to him comes revelation that is born of life and thought,
He's constrained to show to others the belief in him in-
wrought.

If his faith be deeply hidden, it is like a rare cut flower,
That will fade without fruition, breathing beauty but an
hour;
But if he who has convictions would but speak with tongue
of flame.
He might rouse some sluggish thinkers to give praise, per-
chance to blame.

Can a man have civic virtue and avoid all party strife;
Can a mother love her children and not seek to mould their
life;

Can a friend be worth the having if to him one can't dis-
close
All the life springs that are welling from their depths of
long repose?

Do not fear a free admission that the dogma, cult or creed,
That you thought to be essential, is not now your greatest
need.
Tell the world your inspiration; it may warm a heart that's
cold,
And increase the joys of living, some new liberties unfold.

To contribute to the wisdom that shall soothe and cure the
pain
In which the whole earth trembleth from dawn to ev'ning
wane,
Is the happiness and halo of clear spirits far and near
Who are planting hope and courage in the souls once filled
with fear.

When all the Babies will be Little Girls

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—Sir: A suffragist
"argument" is the Triangle fire. Throughout the quarter
where the horror of the Asch building fire is poignant and
unassuaged she stands upon street corners screaming over
and over again, "Triangle fire!" "Triangle fire!" She
asserts to these alien and emotional audiences that men as
a sex are responsible for that terrible tragedy, and that bal-
lots in the hands of women would have saved the 150 girls
who perished.

Based on no iota of truth, there is a horror of its own
in women so arraigning the men of their race. By so
impugning the honor and decency of men, the suffragist
betrays in definite significance both her egotism and that
sex antagonism which her opponents denounce as the in-
herent streak of decadence on the theory of woman suf-
frage.

Diverse and contradictory as suffrage arguments are,
there is always discernable the positive undercurrent which
spells the crude contempt of women for men. Whimpering
for "equality," they yet disparage and deride all things
"man made." It is unconscious humor, of course which
prompts them to demand equality with a sex they so with-
eringly despise; but to some of us it is grim comedy that
prompts headlong women to battle for a thing whose com-
plete consummation would mean their own destruction.

When the suffragist exploits the "evils" of the world, and
the numerous failures of mere men, it doesn't strike her
that in reality her hectic language is an indictment of moth-
erhood.

If men are next door to incendiaries, the immediate duty
of suffragists is to trot back home and teach their own little
boys never to play with matches. Perhaps by and by all
the babies will be little girls. Would there be no need then
of a fire department manned by men—whose daily task it
is to save women and children first?

CHARLOTTE E. ROWE.

St. Peter, the Suffragette and the Widow

St. Peter, at his gate, perceived two ladies approaching.
He rose to greet them.

"Names?"

"Mary Smith, widow," said one.

"Jane Jones, spinster," replied the other.

"Occupation?"

"Suffragette speaker," said Jane.

"Just a mother," answered Mary.

St. Peter looked troubled.

"I've only room for one just now," he said. "It'll go to
the better of you two."

Jane looked pityingly at Mary.

"I," she said, "have been a successful speaker for my
cause. I have stirred women up till they got the vote.
Owing to their having the vote they have accomplished the
passing of certain bills. These bills have benefited some two
thousand human beings. I'm afraid that 'just a mother' here
can't total anything to equal that!"

"I'm afraid I can't," sighed the mother. "I never did a
thing except bring up my seven boys. They turned out well,
but that only makes seven human beings I've benefited."

She turned meekly away.

"Hold on," said St. Peter. She turned back. "What about
those sons? What have they done for their kind?"

The mother's eyes shone.

"One discovered a new anaesthetic. One secured the pass-
ing of a bill which did good to hundreds. The other estab-
lished a home for blind children."

St. Peter penciled down some figures.

"The fourth led his regiment past a danger point and
saved them all. The fifth is a parson, who lives what he
preaches. The sixth is an artist, who has delighted hun-
dreds. The seventh—well, he's busy bringing up his sons.
His wife is a suffragette!"

"Come right in," said St. Peter. "Your list totals two
thousand and eleven!"

—Exchange

NOTES AND COMMENT

Page 1946, Worcester's Addenda, gives the following definitions:

Socialism—A phrase of communism involving the abolition of private property and of all effort for individual welfare or advantage. Extreme Socialists further advocate the compulsory abolition of personal freedom, of marriage and the family, and of religion.

Suffragist—One who has the right of suffrage; one entitled to vote.

HER VOTING BONNET.

If you're waking, call me early, call me early, mother, dear,
For tomorrow is election and I have to vote this year.
I've the prettiest bonnet, mother, for the polls you ever saw,
And I'm going to vote, dear mother—
Heaven only knows what for!
—Laurana W. Sheldon in the New York Times.

I could give many other instances of this plutocratic assumption behind progressive fads. For instance, there is a plutocratic assumption behind the phrase, "Why should woman be economically dependent upon man?" The answer is that among poor and practical people she isn't; except in the sense in which he is dependent upon her. A hunter has to tear his clothes, there must be somebody to mend them. It is surely quite clear that this modern notion that woman is a mere "pretty clinging parasite," "a plaything," etc., arose through the sombre contemplation of some rich banking family, in which the banker, at least, went to the city and pretended to do something while the banker's wife went to the park and did not pretend to do anything at all. A poor man and his wife are a business partnership. If one partner in a firm of publishers interviews the authors while the other interviews the clerks, is one of them economically independent? Was Hodder a pretty parasite clinging to Stoughton? Was Marshall a mere plaything for Snelgrove?—Chesterton.

The New York Times says: "A

plan to compel voting has been suggested in this country under which a majority of votes of all the registered voters would be exacted for any measure submitted to the people or any candidate for office. In case the majority was lacking the measure would be held over until the next election, while the incumbent of the office would hold his place until the people saw fit to go to the polls in larger numbers."

When Woman Suffrage was voted upon in California only 60 per cent of the voters went to the polls. It was carried only by a small majority of a little more than half the voting body, and not a majority of all the people. Yet the Suffragists are all for having us believe that Woman Suffrage means Democracy and the will of the people. The answer to those serene individuals who say it will be pleasant to have the ballot which we may use or not use as we have a mind to, is given in the fact that compulsory voting which already exists in one republic at least may soon be part of our system. Under this system no one can retain a vote they don't use. So let us have an end to such absurdity. Either we want the vote with all its responsibilities—or we don't—and if we want it we should be compelled to use it.

A woman reader of the Woman's Protest writes:

"A clerk at my office is staying temporarily at a home where working girls live, and where women can get transient accommodations. At this house is staying at present a vulgar woman who is connected with the management of a convalescent home near New York in New Jersey. She is incidentally a suffragist, and makes herself a bore at the house. She is ostensibly here for a rest, but seems to be engaged in doing suffrage work and trying to influence the girls who live there. Here are specimens of her English. 'The women is wid us.' 'A lot of my affinities are coming here at inauguration, etc., etc.'"

"She remarked last night: 'I wish

the saloons could be closed on March 3.' A lady, well known to most Americans, who is a transient in the house, remarked: 'Do you think drunken men would interfere with the women?' The dreadful woman replied: 'No, I want them closed so the women can't get drunk.' The lady stared in astonishment and replied: 'You don't believe many women would drink, do you?' The suffragist replied, 'Men set the example and lead women to drink.'"

What becomes of all the boasts of the Suffragists in face of the facts. A reversal of the case of Adam and Eve.

Rumors have been circulated to the effect that the Anti-Suffragists in New York acknowledged defeat and had given up the fight. These rumors doubtless have their foundation in the recent merging of the National League for the Civic Education of Women with the Woman's Municipal League. Both these organizations are non-partisan as to woman suffrage, although both number many Anti-Suffragists among their members. The lecture course prepared by the chairman of the former organization before her departure for Europe in the summer will be given under the direction of Mr. William H. Allen, formerly in charge of the Bureau of Municipal Research, and Mrs. Allen.

"The Guidon," a strong organization under the leadership of Mrs. Rossiter Johnson, an anti-suffrage, educational study club for progressive, patriotic and studious women, has as its object: an intelligent opposition to Woman Suffrage, based on a study of woman's right relation to the Republic, to social life and to the home. It numbers among its members thoughtful, well-informed women from many circles. They belong, by virtue of their study class membership, to the State association opposed to Woman Suffrage, and their constitution requires that they shall report twice a year to this body.

The opposition to Woman Suffrage is growing active—and that rapidly.

The suffragists have flooded the country with quotations from Lincoln, making him say: "I go for all sharing the privileges of the government, who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding females." What Lincoln really did say, however, is quite another thing. His statement concerning suffrage appeared in the New Salem Journal of June 13, 1836. The words were written when Lin-

coln was less than twenty-seven years of age, before he was admitted to the bar, and are as follows:

"I go for all sharing the privileges of the government, who assist in bearing its burdens, consequently I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage, who pay taxes or bear arms, by no means excluding females."

There is no record of his ever having mentioned woman suffrage at any other time.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 35 West 39th Street, New York City.

Complete set 50 cts.

Single copies 5 cts.

PAMPHLETS

Woman and the Law By *Francis M. Scott*
Address Before Constitutional Convention, 1894

By *Hon. Elihu Root*

First Address Before the New York Legislature, 1895

By *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*

The Problem of Woman Suffrage by *Adeline Knapp*

Woman's Rights in America By *Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin*

A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question

By *Miss Emily P. Bissell*

Wages and the Ballot

By *Mary Dean Adams*

Should We Ask for the Suffrage?

By *Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer*

How Women Can Best Serve the State

By *Mrs. Barclay Hazard*

The Blank Cartridge Ballot

By *Rossiter Hazard*

Taxation and Suffrage

By *Frederick Dwight*

Real Opponents to the Suffrage Movement

By *Edward W. Bok*

The Relation of the Sexes to Government

By *Prof. Edward D. Cope*

Do Working Women Need the Ballot? By *Adeline Knapp*

Woman's Progress Versus Woman Suffrage

By *Helen Kendrick Johnson*

What Women Have Actually Done Where they Vote

By *Richard Barry*

Woman's Relation to Government

By *Mrs. William Forse Scott*

The Legal Status of Women By *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*

Feminism By *Prof. Dr. Melchior Palagyi*

Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation

By *Miss Minnie Bronson*

Woman Suffrage in Finland

New Zealand and Australia from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View

The Voice of the People

Suffragists Desert Philanthropy

Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5)

G. K. Chesterton

Votes for Women (.10)

Frederic Harrison

Woman Adrift (\$1.50)

Harold Owen

The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50)

Ida Tarbell

The Ladies Battle (\$1.00)

Molly Elliot Seawell

Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)

Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.)

Grace Duffield Goodwin

Woman and the Republic (25c.)

Mrs. Rossiter Johnson

Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to the Woman's Protest.

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, THE COMMON CAUSE, which is opposed to Socialism. Subscription \$2.00. Office, 154 East 23d Street. Also, THE REMONSTRANCE; subscription, 50 cents; 687 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women:

Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage

Francis Parkman

Of What Benefit to Woman?

Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage

Jeannette L. Gilder

Letter to Legislative Committee

Mrs. Clara T. Leonard

Argument Before Committee

Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells

Municipal Suffrage for Women—Why?

Frank Foxcraft

Taxpaying Suffrage

Charles R. Saunders

The Wage-earning Woman and the State

Minnie Bronson

Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women and Not to Men

Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage

In Opposition to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (a List of Massachusetts Men)

Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage

Ida M. Tarbell

Pamphlets and Leaflets may be obtained from the Secretary of the Association

KENSINGTON BUILDING, Room 615

687 Boylston Street,

BOSTON, MASS.

The Woman's Protest

.....1913

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

35 West 39th Street, New York City

Enclosed find \$.....for.....year's subscription

Name

Street

CityState.....

Subscription Rate \$1.00 a year. Make checks payable to The Woman's Protest

If you wish to subscribe for a friend, write the name below and include the amount in your remittance.

Name

Street

City

State